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by MICHAEL COOPER

The silk trade conducted by the Portuguese between Macao and Nagasaki in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had more than merely commercial significance, for to a considerable extent this trade constituted, from the Japanese point of view, the *raison d'être* of the Europeans living in Japan during this period. Had there been no silk trade, the early contact between Japan and the West would have been far shorter and would not have lasted a hundred years. This is true not only of the merchants and seamen engaged in the actual trade and related activities but also of the Christian missionaries working in the country. For so great was the demand for foreign silk that the Japanese authorities were willing to put up with their presence in order not to jeopardize trade with Macao. Although it might be difficult to prove that either Toyotomi Hideyoshi or Tokugawa Ieyasu were personally averse to the Christian religion as such, both rulers looked upon missionary work as a potential threat to Japanese sovereignty and their own newly-won authority, but both were willing to tolerate it for the sake of the profits accruing from the silk trade. The chronicler Luis Frois pointed out that fear of interrupting the lucrative trade discouraged Hideyoshi from strictly enforcing his 1587 edict expelling the Jesuits from the country, for 'although he is well aware that we are all in Japan, he still pretends not to know this.'¹ A similar state of affairs obtained during the rule of Ieyasu, for it was only at the end of his career, two years before his death, that he issued a decree deporting the missionaries in 1614. Here again fear of curtailing the flow of silk from Macao had held his hand, and the Jesuit Diogo de Mesquita noted in 1607, 'Ieyasu does not like Christianity, but he knows that we are useful as regards trade.'² It is remarkable that the Japanese never seemed to have realized that the termination of this trade, while perhaps causing inconvenience in Japan, would produce little short of economic disaster in Macao. Nor did they realize that the Portuguese would have been willing (as later events showed) to continue the trade regardless of whether missionaries were allowed to work in Japan or not.

¹ In a letter written at Katsuta on 7.x.1591, reproduced in Luis Frois, *Cartas do Japão, nas quaes se trata da chegada áquellas partes dos fidalgos Iapões*. . . . (Lisbon, 1593), f. 4.

² In a letter written at Nagasaki on 3.xi.1607, preserved in the Jesuit Archives, Rome: JapSin 14, f.284.

For the prosperity, if not the very existence, of Macao largely depended on the silk trade with Japan. The outpost had been founded as an entrepot for Portuguese commerce in the Far East, and in due course the corresponding port of Nagasaki was established in Japan primarily to serve the great carracks laded with silk. So great was the dependence of the Macao economy on this silk trade that when the Tokugawa government finally banned further dealings with the Portuguese in 1639, the Macao senate dispatched to Japan an embassy to plead for a continuation of commerce. The risks involved in this venture were fully appreciated, and in the event the worst fears of the Portuguese were unhappily realized; some sixty of the ambassadors and crew were executed at Nagasaki in August 1640, while thirteen men were sent back to convey the somber news to Macao.³ Again, in 1647, Macao sent yet another legation to ask for resumption of trade; although the ambassador was fortunate enough to escape the extreme fate of his predecessors, he was no less unsuccessful in restoring commercial relations.⁴

Although this trade was so important for the economy of Macao, it is interesting to note that the Portuguese were not, for the most part, dealing in European goods but were simply shipping to Japan Chinese silk that had been bought at the semi-annual Canton Fair. It would, of course, have been far more economical for the Chinese and Japanese to conduct this trade directly among themselves, for the Chinese were just as eager to obtain Japanese silver as the Japanese were to buy Chinese silk. But on account of the depredations of the *wakō* pirates in the coastal areas of China, the Ming government had prohibited trade with Japan and strong anti-Japanese feeling existed in China. The Spanish merchant Bernardino de Avila Girón reported seeing in Canton a monument bearing the inscription, 'As long as the sun and moon give light, the Chinese and Japanese cannot live under the same sky or drink the same water.'⁵ In these circumstances there was no question of the Chinese shipping their silk directly to Japan.

Hence there was need for a neutral intermediary with ample transport facilities to ferry the silk to Japan, and the Portuguese were not slow to take full advantage of the artificial situation. Possession of the commercial base of Macao on the Chinese coast gave them an immense advantage over their Spanish, Dutch and English trade rivals, and for practically the entire period of Japanese-European relations, that is, from about 1543 to 1640, they provided the greater part of European trade with Japan. Their competitors did their best to break the Portuguese monopoly, the Dutch even going as far as to make an unsuccessful invasion attempt on

³ A document listing the name, age and nationality of the ambassadors and all the crew on the ill-fated ship is preserved in the Jesuit Archives, Rome: JapSin 25, ff. 142-143v. It is interesting to note that there were in fact only 15 Portuguese on board and that the cosmopolitan crew was made up of Spanish, Chinese, Indian, Korean, Japanese, Javanese

and Malayan sailors.

⁴ Full details are given in C.R. Boxer, *The Embassy of Captain Gonzalo de Siqueira de Souza to Japan in 1644-7*, Macao, 1938.

⁵ Avila Girón, 'Relación del Reino de Nippon', in *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, xxxvii (Madrid, 1934), p. 12.

Macao in 1622. The English employed less drastic tactics, and Richard Cocks, the factor or manager at Hirado, spent a good deal of time and money trying to negotiate through the astute merchant Li Tan the establishment of commercial links with China. Predictably enough Cocks' efforts ended in failure and as a result he was obliged to try to sell, with a notable lack of success, English broadcloth on the Japanese market. For the turmoil of the *sengoku jidai* had at last been ended by the setting up of a strong central administration, and the resulting political stability and modest prosperity had created a demand for luxury items such as foreign silk. As Cocks himself noted, 'But as yet they are soe adicted to silks, that they doe not enter into consideration of the benefitt of wearinge cloth.' He went on to add, although one suspects without a great deal of conviction, 'But tyme may altar their myndes.'⁶ But the passing of time failed to alter their minds, and in vain did the English extol the merits of woolen cloth. One of the reasons for their failure could be attributed to their not practicing what they preached when they came to choose their own wardrobe. For John Saris observed, 'Our chieftest commoditie indeed for those parts being Broad-cloth..., the Natives were now more backward to buy then before, because they saw that we our selves were not forwarder in wearing the thing which wee recommended unto them. For, said they, you commend your Cloath unto us, but you yourselves weare least thereof, the better sort of you wearing the Silken garments, the meaner Fustians, &c.'⁷

The demand for silk, then, was considerable in Japan and the home industry had still to reach the high degree of quality later attained. As a result the best silk available was Chinese and the only people who could ship it to Japan in any quantity were the Portuguese. The authorities at Macao realized the strength of their commercial position and consequently took steps to safeguard their monopoly and stabilize, not to say bolster, the price of silk in Japan. The actual mechanics of the silk trade were considerably complex at the Macao end, for the Portuguese were determined to preserve at all costs the lucrative trade for themselves and to prevent a glut of silk on the Japanese market lowering prices. Thus it was laid down that the silk could be shipped to Nagasaki only in the official annual voyage of the Portuguese carrack, the captaincy of which was a Crown appointment. Furthermore, a system of bulk sale was devised, and this ensured not only the stabilizing of the selling price but also the fair distribution of profits in Macao.

A good deal has been written about this trade, but some details concerning the mechanics of the system have remained unclear.⁸ A precise report, written at Macao by a man well qualified to know the facts of the situation, is therefore a document of considerable interest for it provides additional information about the Portuguese

⁶ In a letter written at Hirado on 30.xi.1613, in *Diary of Richard Cocks*, ed. N. Murakami (Tokyo, 1899), II, p. 259.

⁷ 'Captaine Saris his Journey to the Court of the Japonian Emperour', in *Purchas His Pilgrimes in Japan*, ed. Cyril Wild (Kobe, 1939),

p. 161.

⁸ For example, C.R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon*, Lisbon, 1963; Okamoto Yoshitomo 岡本良知, *Jūroku Seiki Nichi-Ō Kōtsū-shi no Kenkyū* 十六世紀日歐交通史の研究, Kōbunsō 弘文社, Tokyo, 1936.

monopoly. It stresses the rigor with which the Macao authorities supervised the dispatching of silk to Japan and the fairness of the cooperative scheme which ensured that most of the citizens of Macao received a share in the profits. Its reference to the strict regulation forbidding the importing of Japanese silver on private account underlines the dilemma of the Jesuits, who were repeatedly importuned by influential Japanese nobles to invest their silver in Macao.

The document in question was addressed by the Portuguese Jesuit Manoel Dias to the General of the Order, Claudio Aquaviva, and is dated 18 April 1610.⁹ Thus it was written only a few months after the Japanese attack on the carrack *Nossa Senhora da Graça* (also known as *Madre de Deus*) at Nagasaki, and news of the disaster had reached Macao probably only a short time before. Whether the report was composed as a result of this setback is not apparent and no reference to the incident appears in the text. Manoel Dias, often called Dias Senior to distinguish him from a younger colleague of the same name, Dias Junior, was born in Alpalhão in 1559 and twice served as Rector of the Jesuit college at Macao for a total of seven years. He was later appointed Superior of three Jesuit residences in China and then Visitor of the mission in that country. He died at Macao on 29 November 1639.¹⁰ Although his contemporaries noted that Dias was, for some reason or other, strongly biased against the Japanese mission, this alleged prejudice does not appear in his report, and he presents an impersonal, albeit prosaic, account of the system by which the Portuguese controlled the flow of Chinese silk into Japan and in the process brought considerable prosperity to Macao.

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⁹ The document is preserved in the Jesuit Archives, Rome: JapSin 14 (11b), ff. 341-2 and is not in Dias' handwriting. The report has been edited and translated into Spanish by Professor J.L. Alvarez-Taladriz under the title 'Un Documento de 1610 sobre el contrato de armação de la nao de trato entre Macao y Nagasaki', in *Tenri Daigaku Gakuhō* 天理大學學報, xi, No. 1 (July, 1959), pp. (1)-(20),

in which mention is made of a second copy preserved in the archives of the Jesuit Province of Toledo, Spain. A Japanese translation of the letter is given in *Kirishitan Kenkyū* キリシタン研究, xii (1967), pp. 358-66.

¹⁰ Jesuit Archives, Rome: JapSin 25, ff. 114v, 133v & 140v; Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon: MS 1659, f. 105v; Alvarez-Taladriz, 'Documento', pp. (3)-(4).

Report Concerning the *Armação* or Corporate Agreement by Which the Citizens of Macao Send their Silk to Japan

When the Portuguese began to go to Japan with Chinese goods, the King of Portugal reserved this voyage for himself so that it could be made only by those to whom he had granted a license. He granted this license to various gentlemen in repayment for their services, and this is one of the good commissions that the King has in India.¹¹ In former times the voyage used to be made in this way. When it was his turn, the Captain would come here from India with his ship to make the voyage, and he would make an agreement with the merchants that they would pay him freight dues at a certain percentage. Each of the merchants would then load the goods he had and wanted to send, and among these goods silk was always the most profitable. This way of making the voyage continued for some years, but it labored under one particular disadvantage among others. For the Captain would make this freight agreement with the wealthiest merchants, and as they remained at the top of the list they would invest all their considerable capital in silk, the most profitable commodity. And so twelve or fifteen men would lade all the silk that could be used in Japan, while other poorer traders, who were not admitted into the freight contract, had no place in which to load silk and so sent less profitable goods, which they called and call *miudelas*, such as rolls of taffeta, satin, damask, etc. In this way the wealthy continued to obtain abundant profit from silk and were like so many lords of this voyage, while the poorer traders remained poor.

But in the course of time the number of inhabitants of this place increased. With the help of the Patriarch Dom Belchior Carneiro,¹² when he was bishop here, they tried to arrange matters so that the silk shipped to Japan should be sent by corporate agreement; thus everybody, rich and poor alike, could contribute his share. They call this contract here the *armação* and the share of silk allotted to each person is called the *baque*, and it has been done in this way for many years. In due time the aldermen who administer the city call a meeting of most of its

¹¹ The annual post of Captain (*Capitão-Mor*) was a Crown appointment and could earn its holder a fortune as much as 150,000 *cruzados*; until 1623 the Captain acted as interim governor of Macao during his residence in the city.

¹² Belchior Carneiro (1513–83), coadjutor

to the patriarch of Ethiopia, reached Macao in 1568 and administered the diocese of China and Japan until about 1581 when a permanent bishop arrived. Manoel Teixeira, *Bispos e Governadores do Bispado de Macau* (Macao, 1940), pp. 77–83.

inhabitants, and they all elect by vote three men to be their Procurators in order to draw up the contract of this *armação* with the Captain of the voyage on behalf of all the people and to deal with all the relevant negotiations. Those who are thus elected are sometimes the aldermen themselves, at other times they are other men. For the sake of the community they do many things in the aforesaid contract.

1 When they have found out how much silk can be sold in Japan for a good price, they arrange with the Captain of the carrack that they load therein, for example, 2,000 piculs or *quintaes*¹³ of silk and will pay him a 10% freight rate provided certain conditions are fulfilled. One of these conditions is that the Captain will not carry nor allow to be carried in his carrack more than the aforesaid 2,000 piculs of silk, and this is done under penalty of a *certum quid* that he has to pay. In addition to the freight dues on the 2,000 piculs, the city will pay him, for example, 3,000 taels or *cruzados* to compensate him for what he could earn if he carried as much silk as he pleased in addition to the 2,000 piculs. Another condition stipulates that if the people of Macao do not have 2,000 piculs to lade, they will nevertheless pay him the freight dues on all this amount as if they had embarked it all.

2 The three elected Procurators divide these 2,000 piculs of silk among all the Portuguese men who are in this city and also among some men of other nations, such as Chinese, etc. They assign a share or *baque* to each one as they see fit, taking into account the size of his capital, his household expenses, etc. They usually arrange to give each man sufficient *baque* so that the profits therefrom are enough to support his family for a year in keeping with his station.

The Society of Jesus used to send all the silk that it could on this voyage to Japan, just as the laity used to do. But after this *armação* and corporate agreement was arranged, the Society made an agreement with this city to the effect that it would not send 90 piculs of silk (in accordance with the permission granted in the name of the King) but only 50 piculs.¹⁴ Furthermore, if the Japanese did not wish to buy so much and it was impossible to sell in Japan all the silk shipped in the carrack, then they would give the Jesuit procurator there 40 piculs at the price these piculs over there cost their owners, for otherwise they would have to bring them back to Macao without selling them there. The Fathers continued in this way for some years, sometimes having 90 piculs in Japan and sometimes no more than 50 when the Japanese bought the whole lot. The latter was the usual case, for there were only a few years in which there was some silk left over to sell and there were those 40 piculs to give to the Fathers.

3 The same elected Procurators make a rough estimate of the public expenses incurred by this city, and then they decide that the owners of this silk and of other goods sent to Japan must pay so much per cent. This is handed over to the

¹³ The picul and *quintal* were equivalent to about 133 lbs.

¹⁴ The agreement was made in 1578 by the Jesuit Visitor Alessandro Valignano (1539–

1606). Valignano, *Sumario de las Cosas de Japon*, ed. J.L. Alvarez-Taladriz (Tokyo, 1954), pp. 46*–47*.

administrators of the city to cover the public expenses incurred in the transaction, for there is no other source of revenue to cover them. These are rather like dues and some years they were greater, some years smaller, depending on the approximate amount required by the city to cover expenses. So in some years they paid 3%, in other years 4%, in others 2%. But as this fluctuation involved some inconveniences, the Society made an agreement together with the city that it would pay 3% every year on the 50 or 90 piculs of silk, as well as on the other goods, that it sent to Japan to be sold there. This agreement was to hold whether lay people paid a greater or smaller amount, and thus the Society always pays this, in addition to the freight dues (usually amounting to 10% in the case of silk) that it pays to the Captain of the carrack.

4 Experience shows that if, in addition to the royal voyage of the carrack, other ships go to Japan and take Chinese silk and goods, the cargo carried by the carrack is worth much less. So the three elected Procurators of the city, together with the Captain of the carrack, who also has much to lose or gain in this matter, keep a most strict watch that only the carrack, and no other ship, sails to Japan with Chinese goods. And so on no account are they willing to allow any other ship, however small it may be, to be laded with goods. If a ship happens to pass by here en route for Japan, the same Captain immediately forbids it to enter port or orders it to leave if it has already entered; and he often goes in person to keep watch so that it does not take on goods, or else he sends his soldiers. There is so much strictness shown toward individuals for the public good of the city that when some years ago the Jesuit procurator went to a certain Japanese ship lying outside the port, the Captain of the carrack, who was keeping watch there and knew full well that he was a Jesuit priest, ordered his soldiers to fire a musket at him, merely because he suspected that he was taking some silk or other goods to load on the ship. The same strictness, or even greater, is observed in the years when, for some reason or other, the carrack does not sail from here to Japan. For it is then that the greed of some individuals prompts them even more to send goods to Japan in unofficial ships that may happen to be passing, in the hope that the goods will be worth a great deal over there in the absence of those that the carrack should have carried. And so the Captain of the carrack and the elected Procurators of the city forbid this and keep watch even more rigorously that such goods should not be sent. Father Valignano was here in 1603 when the Dutch seized the carrack in this port.¹⁵ As it was already laded and due to depart for Japan on the following morning, the Jesuits in Japan thus lost nearly all they had. Father Valignano tried to send a small ship there to tell the Fathers that, as they were now so poor, they should dismiss the *dogicos*¹⁶ and servants who could be spared, and that they should cut down all other expenses by at least half the usual amount, etc. Father Valignano went in person to the administrative offices of the city to ask them to allow him to send this ship, but even our devotees objected so strongly that he was on the point of ap-

¹⁵ The carrack was seized on 30 July 1603.

¹⁶ *Dōjuku* 同宿, a lay catechist.

pealing to the Chief Justice.¹⁷ Finally they allowed him to do so after he had made many promises that only the letter, and no other merchandise belonging either to the Society or to any other person, would go in the ship.

In the same way both the Captain and the city keep sharp watch that ships sailing from here to other ports in nearby kingdoms where there are often some Japanese ships as well, should not carry goods that are usually sent to Japan. This is done to prevent their off-loading the goods on to the Japanese ships there and in this way sending them to be sold in Japan. All of these things are regarded as so contrary to the common good of this city that it is a great blot on one's honor and practically infamy to send goods to Japan by private ships. Anybody doing this is said to be a covetous man, prejudicial to the common good, etc. In 1608, although the carrack did not go to Japan for fear of the Dutch, the Jesuit procurator here tried to send a small ship thither with Mass wine and some cloth for the Fathers' clothes, etc., as there was a great shortage of such things there because the carrack had not sailed to Japan the year before, 1607, either.¹⁸ But there was so much trouble in all this that he appealed to the Chief Justice against the Captain, who was preventing him. The Chief Justice was the bishop of the city and he made the Captain desist and allow the ship to go.¹⁹ And in order that the inhabitants might also consent to this, the procurator lent them a sum of gold pieces, part of which belonged to the Society and part to some devotees. Three pieces were lent to some, four to others, and they even lent some eight or ten pieces to the bishop so that he would give his consent.

5 To make it impossible to send to Japan goods other than those shipped by the Portuguese in the carrack, the elected Procurators of the city prohibit the entry of any silver belonging to Japanese into this place. And so when they make the agreement with the Captain, they stipulate that he must not carry in his carrack any silver belonging to Japanese; and if they can prove that he has brought some, then he will pay a certain sum, and they order that this be put down in writing. They ask the bishop of this place for public excommunication *ipso facto*, and this is usually published every year, against any Portuguese bringing in silver belonging to Japanese under penalty of confiscation. And if in this or any other way they find out that such silver has been brought into this place, then the city and Captain seize it. Sometimes they send it back to Japan without investing it, and so it comes and returns in vain, without earning any profit and exposed to the hazards of two voyages. On other occasions the Captain himself takes the silver, invests it on his own account and carries it at the risk of the owner, to whom he gives it in Japan

¹⁷ *Juez conservador*. It is impossible to provide exact translations for some of these technical terms as there is no equivalent in English.

¹⁸ According to a 1608 Jesuit catalogue, Sebastião Vieira was the Macao-based procurator of the Japanese mission in that year. British Museum: Additional MSS 9860, f.117.

¹⁹ The bishop in question was Fray João Pinto da Piedade, O.P., while the Captain was André Pessoa, who died in the sinking of *Nossa Senhora da Graça* at Nagasaki in January 1610. For Piedade, see Teixeira, *Bispos*, pp. 89–94.

together with a moderate profit. On still other occasions it is confiscated here, just as they did in 1605 when an Augustinian friar, who administered this diocese, confiscated 2,000 taels which he knew belonged to Japanese and which had been brought here despite his excommunication, and he did not give them anything.²⁰ In the same way it is a blot on the honor and even infamy for any man of the city to bring silver belonging to Japanese when he comes from there, or to favor them here so that they may buy goods if such silver happens to reach this city by any route, for this is regarded as very prejudicial to the public good of this city.

6 The three elected men or Procurators of the city choose a factor to go to Japan to sell this silk, as well as a notary to help him and write everything down, a weigher to weigh it there, another man they call a *escutilheiro* (he is a sort of guard over the silk and keeps it all locked up under his key) and other officials. Each of these men receives his salary from the *armação*, and they are all made to swear that they will observe in their various offices all the instructions given them by the elected men. They even obtain from some of them a guarantee of a certain sum of money, which they will forfeit if it is proved that they did not observe the Procurators' instructions in Japan.

7 On account of some injustices committed by the Japanese in their country against the Portuguese in the purchase of this silk, it has been the custom now for many years to sell it there by *pancada*, as they call it, and this is done in the following way. When the Japanese merchants who want the silk gather in the port where the carrack lies, the factor does not sell it little by little to each of them by private agreement. Instead, he makes a contract with them all, or with the leading ones whom they choose, that he will offer, let us say, 2,000 piculs of silk at so much the picul, and they then divide it up among themselves as they please. Fixing the price in this general way is called here the *pancada*, and in the same way the Portuguese buy the silk from the Chinese at Canton and sell other goods in various ports of India. This way of selling may appear to be a monopoly, but it is regarded as just in these parts in view of the many unjust accusations brought against the Portuguese by the natives of these parts when they sell to them in any other way.

8 It happens some years in Japan that the less important native merchants cannot obtain all they require when the silk is distributed and sold in the *pancada*, and they feel badly at not getting all they want. So if they find anybody willing to sell them some secretly outside the *pancada*, they will pay him a higher price for it than that determined by the factor in the *pancada*. On the other hand, there are sometimes some Portuguese aware of this and greed prompts them to try to take some silk secretly to Japan over and above the *baque* which the Procurators allotted them and which is shipped under the supervision of the factor of the *armação*, and to sell this extra silk there outside the *pancada*. Hence the elected Procurators keep a close

²⁰ The friar was Fray Miguel dos Sanctos, nominated interim administrator of the diocese following the death of Bishop Leonardo da Sá in 1597. The friar is aptly described by

Alvarez-Taladriz (in 'Un Documento', p. (14), n. 19) as 'litigator and fulminator of excommunications to right and left, and in turn excommunicated and deposed.'

watch to prevent anybody lading some silk secretly, and to this end they exercise great diligence on the carrack while the loading is being done. They also make an agreement with the Captain that he will not carry any silk in addition to the *armação*, nor will he allow anybody else to carry it, nor will he sell any silk in Japan outside the *pancada*, nor will he let anybody else sell or unload it secretly from the carrack, and that to this end both he and his officers will keep diligent watch. And if it can be proved that he was careless in any of these things, he will lose a certain amount. There was a year when they fined the Captain 400 taels because it was clear that he had been remiss in this matter, and thus his servants and relatives secretly took three or four piculs of silk and sold them in Japan outside the *pancada*. The factor, the notary and other officials of the *armação* have the best opportunity to transport and sell this silk outside the *pancada*, and so when the elected Procurators award them their posts they also make them swear on the Holy Gospels that they will not do this nor allow it to be done, and they later make enquiry into this matter. Up to 1603 no factor nor any official of the *armação* ever did this, for in addition to the mischief involved any one of them would have been disgraced for life. They say in this city that only two factors, who went in 1604 and 1605, sold a quantity of silk in Japan outside the *pancada* and pocketed for themselves the higher price paid them, and that they quietened their consciences by certain speeches they made there about this matter, declaring that it was their own enterprise. This was taken very badly here, and so last year's elected Procurators, with the advice of Father Valentim Carvalho (who was Rector here),²¹ made a new regulation about this matter for the factor whom they sent, although one of them told me that Father Carvalho himself had made it. They say that under the obligation of an oath they make him take and under penalty of recompensing the city with the money thus earned, the regulation stipulates that he will not sell silk in any way outside the *armação*, nor will he give it to any person to hide, nor will he accept from anybody anything that may be given him so that he will sell silk to one person rather than to another, and other similar conditions. And they obtained from him once more all the other promises so that in no way whatsoever could such a sale outside the *pancada* be justified. And so that this might have greater effect they increased for him the salary that they were accustomed to pay factors.

9 As the Japanese are very different from the Portuguese as regards trading and making agreements, the elected Procurators of this city have always ordered the factor to avail himself of the Fathers in the negotiations for the sale of the silk and in other matters that may come his way. They wrote letters asking the Fathers to help the factor there, and they ordered him to hand over the carrack to them, to consult them and to follow their advice in everything, etc. The Fathers over there rendered a very great service to this city, preventing some disagree-

²¹ A Portuguese Jesuit who arrived in Japan in 1598, but returned to Macao three years later to occupy the post of Rector of the Jesuit college there until November 1608.

ments that sometimes arose between the factor and the Japanese merchants concerning the price and weight of the silk. As a result many Portuguese declare that it is impossible in Japan to conduct the business of the carrack, sell the silk peacefully and return on time, if the Fathers do not help in arranging the *pancada* and settling the price.²²

This is the report on how the contract or *armação* of Japan is made. I commend myself to the holy blessing of your Paternity.

Macao, 18 April 1610,

Your Paternity's unworthy son in the Lord,

Manoel Dias

²² Jesuit participation in the *pancada* discussions was particularly prominent in the first decade of the seventeenth century when João Rodrigues was not only the Jesuit procurator at Nagasaki but also the commercial agent of Ieyasu. The *pancada* negotiations, sometimes both extended and acrimonious, were held in the Jesuit college.